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45. PAF board chairman in a PAF press release, January 28, 2009.

46. Act 1047/2001, §52; Decree 1348/2001. Initially, the amount was €170,000/year. See *Helsingin Sanomat,* May 23, 2002.

47. See http://www.peluuri.fi and http://www.thl.fi. See also http://www.peliklinikka.fi/peliklinikka.

48. For example, see R. Kurkela, *Peruskoululaisten rahapelien pelaaminen;* A. Wallin, *Pennit miljooniksi: Tietoa lasten ja nuorten pelaamisesta ja sen haitoista; Nuorten rahapelaaminen: 12–17-vuotiaiden nuorten rahapelaaminen ja peliongelmat; Nuorten rahapelaaminen: Ikärajan valvonta—koeostot ja havainnointi; Suomalaisten rahapelaaminen, 2007;* and *Suomalaisen rahapelaamisen vuosikirja, 2009.* For a full list of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health and the National Institute for Health and Welfare publications, see http://www.stm.fi/julkaisut and http://www.stakes.fi/FI/Julkaisut/verkkojulkaisut/.

49. "Rahapelitutkimus," unpublished report (Helsinki: STM and Taloustutkimus, 2003); *Suomalaisten rahapelaaminen, 2007.* See Tammi, "Yksinoikeus peleihin, yksinoikeus ongelmiin?" especially table 1.

50. See http://info.stakes.fi/ats/ and http://www.pelisaatio.fi.

51. P. Raento, "Institutionalization of the Study of Gambling in Finland." See *Suomalaisen rahapelaamisen vuosikirja, 2009.*

52. *Helsingin Sanomat,* April 11, May 8–9, 15, 2001; January 14, May 17, November 30, December 5, 2002; January 8, 20, 2003; February 19, 2011. A major scandal about electoral funding broke in the late 2000s. In 2009 the scandal involved leading individuals in RAY and some of the foundations that operate with its funding. These themes were in the headlines almost daily in 2009, and the debate continued into the 2010s. A good summary was published in *Helsingin Sanomat* on February 14, 2010.

53. For example, *Helsingin Sanomat,* October 7, 2001.

4 Waterfront Rise

Urban Casino Space and Boundary Construction in the Netherlands

SYTZE F. KINGMA

Modern casinos confine gambling activities to the casino premises and typically present and organize gambling as an entertainment product. In many cases singular establishments are part of major commercial enterprises, which together make up a global gambling industry. The strong commoditized nature of contemporary casinos implies that gambling opportunities are offered in a carefully designed context of intense service and close surveillance, segregated from the wider society and demarcated from the immediate environment.[1] By the same token, however, this implies that casino companies increasingly have the ability to choose locations to their liking, and even to influence and shape consumption environments that offer favorable conditions for economic exploitation. For their part, local governments are seriously interested in casinos as tools for urban redevelopment. This logic applies to the urban environments of the twelve Holland Casinos that were built in the Netherlands during the 1990s.[2]

The encompassing urban casino space precedes, and, at the same time, interacts with, the construction of casinos. Urban space has to be symbolically, normatively, and materially defined as receptive to casinos, before one can even think of building one. Operators, regulators, and consumers (and academics) tend to take for granted the presence of a favorable urban condition for casinos. In this chapter I argue that the dynamic of the interaction between the city and the casino is complex and highly relevant for an understanding of the appearance of a casino, and even for the nature of casino entertainment itself. I will analyze the significance of the urban environment for a casino in the case of the Nijmegen waterfront casino, opened in 1989. This case is particularly appropriate because it was the first casino in the Netherlands that was built as part of an "urban entertainment destination." The Nijmegen waterfront therefore carries the features of John Hannigan's *Fantasy City.* These features include a "themed" and "branded" environ-

ment, which is part of the nighttime economy. This environment consists of a modular mix of commercial entertainment components that constitute a space of illusions and is isolated from the surrounding neighborhood. In Nijmegen the central theme of the waterfront concerned the simulation of a traditional cityscape, depicted in figure 4.1. It was regarded as important for the representation and branding of the city in the city-marketing strategies as they emerged in the late 1980s.

The Nijmegen casino and the waterfront were (re)constructed in close interaction with each other. The process reflected wider changes in the casino industry as well as in urban development. In their interpretation and explanation of such inner-city developments, scholars have stressed various conditions, including the role of social movements,[3] the need for specific urban redevelopment policies,[4] and capitalist investments.[5] In the case of the Nijmegen waterfront casino, a range of social, political, and economic forces should indeed be taken into account. What I will highlight, however, is not only the significance of these conditions but also the dynamics of development and the role played by specific groups and organizations in the construction of urban casino space.[6] I am primarily concerned with the interactions and changing actor networks, including the casino company Holland Casino, present in this redevelopment project. My approach resembles Sharon Zukin's analysis in *Loft Living,* where she showed how students and artists started to make new use of the deteriorated buildings in the New York SoHo district. With this they introduced a new mode of urban living, a trend that capitalist project developers subsequently adopted.[7] I will show how the meaning of urban casino space changes together with the involvement of, and changing coalitions between, interested parties.

Contemporary casino enterprises favor a certain cultural meaning of gambling. This is gambling as a form of entertainment and fun and counter criminal involvement and gambling excesses, or gambling purely for monetary gain. These meanings represent "symbolic boundaries" that are in part spatially constructed. *Boundary construction* refers to the processes of inclusion and exclusion of particular cultural forms and meanings of gambling and to the actor networks involved in its (re)production.[8] In this respect boundaries will be conceived not only as material in space and time but, at the same time, as symbolic and normative. Boundaries also qualify as an object of study in themselves, as complex, socially constructed, and negotiated entities that constitute, constrain, and enable organizations.[9] It is also worth noting that boundaries often represent practices of transition

Figure 4.1. The "traditional cityscape" with its historical features, at the waterfront in Nijmegen. (Photograph courtesy of Cor Elias.)

over space and time—for example, in the case of entrance halls and rituals of arrival and departure.[10] The surroundings of casinos could be regarded as urban zones that frame the symbolic and material setting of casinos. This environment as a whole envelops the casino and shields it from the city. In this sense the immediate casino environment acts as a transition zone where, in Martin Heidegger's words, a casino already "begins its presencing."[11] Being as presencing means enduring in unconcealment, disclosing. It is in the urban space that the casino already shows its new meaning.

In studying the relationship between space and gambling, space does not merely refer to location but should be understood as constitutive for gambling practices, which cannot adequately be conceptualized without this spatial embeddedness. I will therefore highlight the "mutual enactment of the material and the social."[12] From this perspective space is as much a condition for gambling organizations as it is a consequence of them. How casinos produce and become space and how space produces casinos are leading questions. This perspective could broadly be referred to as "gambling geography," to which I will contribute with an analysis of urban casino space in Nijmegen. I will first discuss the transformation of urban space and then assess the reconstruction of the Nijmegen waterfront.

Downtown Turns to Consumption

The revitalization of the Nijmegen waterfront, from 1986 to 1991, is the outcome of a long-term process of city formation. In this process the loss of central-city functions formed the main precondition for the search for, and the construction of, a new meaning and destination for this area roughly defined by the borders of the old town (see figure 4.2). The decline of the old town started in the 1880s, and suburbanization and deindustrialization after World War II concluded the process.

In the Dutch context, Nijmegen can be regarded as a "frontier" city: geographically, strategically, and religiously.[13] The Romans already appreciated the strategic significance of the low hills near the river delta, which historically constitutes a dividing line between the Catholic South and the Protestant North of the Netherlands. In the nineteenth century the formation of a strong nation-state made it possible to dismantle the fortress and the city walls, which strongly boosted the expansion of the city. It also meant a definitive break with Max Weber's idea of the city as a tight political, economic, and social unit.[14] The isolated position of Nijmegen was immediately associated with spatial barriers, not only with the city walls but also with the river, the central lifeline of the old town. The construction of a railway bridge in 1879 and the road bridge in 1936 then integrated Nijmegen in the main traffic networks of the Netherlands. Until then traffic mainly depended on a small ferry, which also implied that all traffic through Nijmegen passed the old town and the quay. Gradually, with the construction of the bridges and the modernization of shipping, all traffic bypassed the old town.

Historically, Nijmegen was a "service city" rather than an industrial city.[15] In the late nineteenth century the urban elite focused on developing the residential environment and scenic beauty on account of the forest and the hills. The city was advertised as a luxurious place of residence for the well-to-do and the pensioners; "dirty industry" was even regarded as a disadvantage. Investments in scenic beauty, attractive low local taxes, cultural facilities such as the theater, and public provisions for the supply of water, gas, and electricity were vital for the enhancement of living conditions in Nijmegen. These facilities, including the tramway, were also vital for the development of tourism in, and promotion of, the city.

However, for the impoverished, deteriorating old town this development had devastating consequences. Already in the prewar period (before 1940) some initiatives had been taken to reconstruct parts of the old town. The war destroyed large parts of the old town, and some parts were demolished.

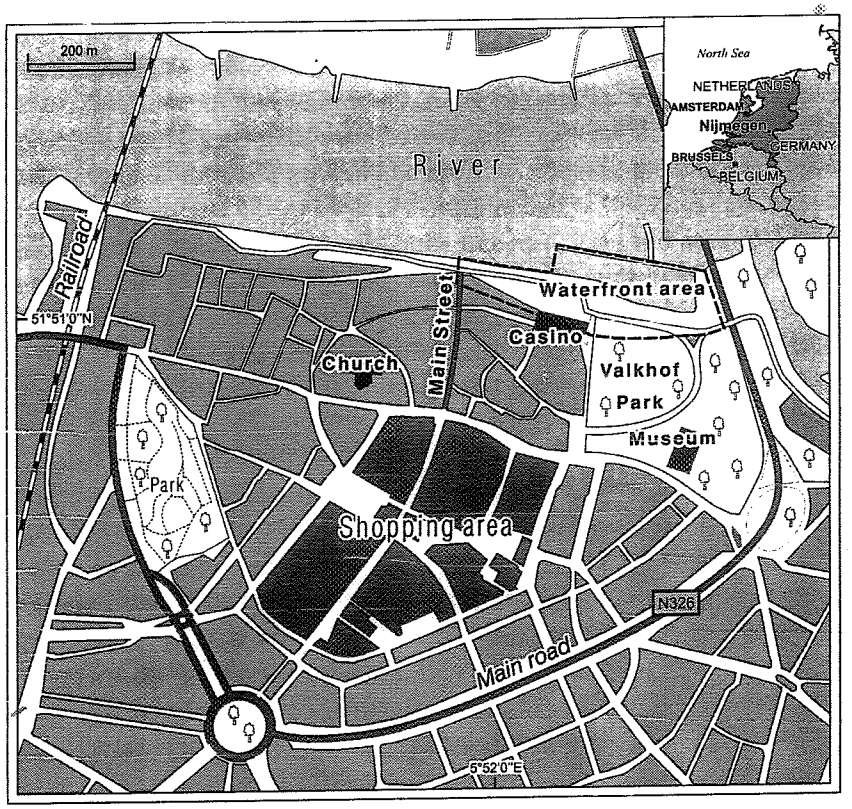

Figure 4.2. The casino and its surroundings in the old town of Nijmegen. (Cartography by Kirsti Lehto, University of Helsinki Department of Geosciences and Geography, and by Alfred Wagtendonk, Department of Environmental Sciences at the VU University Amsterdam.)

Several plans were made to reconstruct and rebuild the old town, the later downtown area. In the reconstruction process distinctions can be made between the upper part concerning the old town center, the quay area along the river, and in between the housing on the hillside. For an adequate understanding of the process of planning and rebuilding, which continued sporadically from the 1950s to the 1980s, three circumstances and contradictions were crucial.

The first is the *historicization* of the old town and the cityscape. The demise of the old town did not mean that its image faded away from public memory. Instead, the rebuilding took place under constant references to the past. A tension developed between the ambitions for a traditional romanti-

cized downtown and for a modern functional composition. In fact, the reconstruction in the 1950s of the upper part of the old town represented a compromise between these two views. The church and the medieval central square area, which the war had destroyed, were completely rebuilt following their traditional appearances. This was in line with powerful heritage politics in the Netherlands that had already developed in the late nineteenth century. However, this ideal of an authentic past, which is about nostalgic longing, should be distinguished from the later "simulations" of the past that prevailed in the revitalization of the waterfront and the casino in the 1980s. In the latter case a more commercial and contemporary ideal of a stylish reflection of the historical composition and contours of the cityscape prevailed over authenticity.

The second contradiction involved the *rationalization* of the urban planning process. In the postwar period the local planning department became a powerful professional player in planning. Professional urban planners introduced modern functional building styles following the ideas of Le Corbusier's International School.[16] These planners fused modern scientifically prepared elements with the traditional and organically developed elements favored by most local people and politicians. In the context of rapid urban sprawl (especially to the south), the downtown area near the river became an undefined, "liminal" urban zone. Victor Turner defined "liminal entities" as "neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention and ceremony."[17] The concept of liminality allows one to define an ambiguous space that is neither destined nor desolate, but indicative of a double identity somewhere in between the two. A liminal space offers socially accepted opportunities to explore boundaries and experiments with new urban forms. During the 1960s the local government did not know what to do with the riverside and assigned a low priority to its reconstruction. The planners favored modern urban functions such as shops, offices, and parking facilities. However, these rational plans conflicted with the ideals and interests of local residents, who maintained that the remaining parts of the traditional old town housed a unique working-class community that should be rehabilitated and revived.

Third, one needs to assess the *democratization* of local decision-making processes that had been rather authoritarian. In particular, socialists gained prominence in the postwar period, and even held power after 1986. Democratization movements of the 1960s strongly resonated in Nijmegen, especially among students. During the 1970s social movements regarding women's emancipation, squatters, and world peace flourished. In the early

1970s an actor network developed in which urban planning initiatives were no longer taken only by public officials and project developers but also by social movements.[18] In this process, well outlined by Manuel Castells, the users of a space seek to (re)gain control over their own life worlds and living conditions. Until well into the 1980s the leftist opposition and democratization movements led in Nijmegen to sharp ideological polarizations over crucial urban issues and to fierce resistance.

In downtown, a combination of political, residential, and social forces led to the formation of a social movement, locally known as the "Downtown Movement." It successfully resisted the reconstruction plans as formulated by the urban planning office and as proposed by the local government.[19] This widely supported movement compelled the local government to rehabilitate the neighborhood, with suitable housing at affordable prices and adequate social facilities for the "original" population. In fact, the Downtown Movement was actively involved in developing the plans. On numerous occasions its members amended the official plans, developed alternatives, and consulted their own architect. The initially limited protest resulted in an encompassing rehabilitation plan with sophisticated architecture for almost the entire area. The architecture reflected the traditional street patterns, building shapes, and skylines of the old city. Ultimately, by around 1980, most of the area had been converted into a completely new residential neighborhood. However, by around 1983 the success of the Downtown Movement came to an end.[20] The interests fragmented into single issues like the casino or the Main Street, subsequently dealt with by a "Casino Group" and a "Main Street Committee."

The decline of the Downtown Movement coincided with the decision to compete for a casino in Nijmegen and to commercially redevelop the eastern part of the waterfront in view of this goal. These plans concerned the last section of the downtown area that had not yet been reconstructed and were developed by a coalition of local officials and commercial parties who largely ignored the views and interests expressed by the former Downtown Movement. This change in direction signaled a break in the downtown planning process, as well as in the governance of the city as a whole. The economic crisis of the 1980s and structural unemployment, which affected Nijmegen relatively severely, took precedence over other social concerns.

For the new significance and leading role of urban economics in city planning, characterizations of the city in terms of the social meaning of urban space are insufficient. In the case of waterfront redevelopment projects and urban casinos, the exploitation and the control of cities are paramount.

David Harvey focuses, in *The Condition of Postmodernity,* on these new "urban needs":

> Cities and places now, it seems, take much more care to create a positive and high quality image of place, and have sought an architecture and forms of urban design that respond to such need. That they should be so pressed, and that the result should be a serial repetition of successful models (such as Baltimore's Harbor Place), is understandable, given the grim history of deindustrialization and restructuring that left most major cities in the advanced capitalist world with few options except to compete with each other, mainly as financial, consumption, and entertainment centers. Imaging a city through the organization of spectacular urban spaces became a means to attract capital and people (of the right sort) in a period (since 1973) of intensified inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurialism.[21]

From the late 1970s onward in Nijmegen, as in many cities of the capitalist world, neoliberal economic considerations became decisive, and many urban issues were redefined in economic terms. In this process urban space was (re)defined as an economic asset. Space was no longer regarded as a mere condition for economic ventures but commoditized and increasingly seen as an economic product in itself. This transformation was of a wide urban relevance and concerned in Nijmegen not only the waterfront project but also the emerging urban strategies for industrial acquisitions and new city-marketing strategies for urban festivals and tourism. In this shift paradigmatic economic concerns replaced the social imperatives for urban development.

The redevelopment of the waterfront in Nijmegen was part of a worldwide transformation of city centers, which became apparent in the 1980s. Rundown inner cities and harbor districts have been subject to processes of revitalization and gentrification.[22] A waterfront, a casino, restaurants, and condominiums are components that coincided in Nijmegen. Internationally, the Baltimore Inner Harbor is an archetypal example of a rundown harbor that has been successfully converted into a consumer paradise. Casinos have also been used to revitalize urban economies—for example, in Atlantic City, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan.[23]

At stake in these redevelopment projects is not only the substantive pleasure profile of newly constructed inner-city areas. Equally significant is that these projects are usually constructed in a context of increasing interurban competition by public–private partnerships, coalitions of project developers, professional planners, and urban politicians, who seek profitable and prestigious images for their cities.[24] These interests, objectives, and new modes of urban governance often contradict local sentiments and interests, as was the case in Nijmegen.

It is this profound transformation in urban governance and signification that can account for the quite systematic and dramatic change in the appreciation of urban space that enabled waterfront development projects and urban casinos like the one in Nijmegen. This transformation can also account for the efforts and investments the local government made in designing and developing an urban entertainment destination to attract and accommodate the casino.

The Waterfront Redevelopment Project

The commoditization of the waterfront in Nijmegen involved three dimensions and subsequent contradictions. The first was the designation of this area as "residential" versus "city center." The policy issue here was whether the urban master plan should be changed and whether the neighborhood residents' demand to have a say in this was justified. At stake was the designation of, as well as the authority over, the waterfront area. The second contradiction developed over the facilities for residents versus those for tourists, day-trippers, and other fun seekers. The policy disagreement concerned the nature and scale of the entertainment facilities at the waterfront. At stake was the appreciation, as well as the composition, of the commercial waterfront. The third controversy was about the behavior of the consumers of the waterfront facilities versus the residents' daily needs—about what levels of inconvenience the residents should accept. At stake were the public order of, and the surveillance over, the waterfront.

The successive policy issues mark and dominate three phases of project development: (1) conception (starting in 1983), (2) constitution (starting in 1986), and (3) control (from 1990). All three dimensions are relevant in each phase of development. For example, in the constitution phase one not only refers back to planning decisions but also anticipates possible inconvenience. Also, several (re)construction projects continued well into the 1990s. I will now examine the dynamics of each phase.

Conception

A constant stream of project plans characterize urban planning, but typically only few of them are realized. In reference to all these plans, one could very well speak of a "city that never was."[25] Regarding the Nijmegen riverside, already in 1971 a group of local businessmen submitted a plan to the city council, sketching an attractive city center and a lively quay completely

devoted to consumption, entertainment, and tourism. Although the fantasies and parties interested in molding Nijmegen's future in this direction were present at this time, the mind-set and conditions to convert these ideas into practice were not. During the 1970s Nijmegen's urban development was guided by a master plan in which the downtown near the river was destined for "strengthening the identity" of the city. The emphasis, however, was on historical and social considerations rather than on economic ones.

This local policy context changed in the 1980s. The redevelopment of the waterfront was one part and consequence of this change. But what gave rise to the reconstruction of the waterfront was a small, temporary initiative for a tourist service and catering facility during the 1981 and 1982 summer seasons. This facility was located at the only quay area designated for leisure purposes, at the intersection of the main street and the quay, of about the size of one building block. Following this initiative and its success, the Urban Department for Public Infrastructure proposed a more encompassing plan to redevelop the eastern part of the waterfront for leisure and entertainment purposes. This plan would be financed mainly by a national government fund for "economic infrastructure" and "employment projects," installed to address the economic crisis of the early 1980s.

The initial plans by the Infrastructure Department did not include a casino, but the local Department of Economic Affairs had a plan for one. These plans reinforced each other. In 1983 the Dutch government decided to expand the number of casinos in the Netherlands from three to eight. The emergence of a new urban regime, favoring the commercial redevelopment of city centers for consumption and entertainment purposes, coincided in the Netherlands with the emergence of a new regime of gambling regulation, which favored the redefinition of gambling as commercial entertainment. I have previously analyzed the newly emerging regime for gambling regulation in terms of a "risk model," which is applicable in this case.[26] Typical features of this model are: (1) a liberal political consensus on the legitimacy of gambling as commercial entertainment, (2) acknowledgment of the economical importance of the gambling sector, and (3) control over gambling markets, primarily to confront the risks of addiction and crime. The rise of these features reflects a "shift of paradigm" in regulation and signals a new phase in the commoditization of gambling. This change features pleasure as a primary motive for gambling and an expanding commercial gambling sector that has a growing share in, and influence on, society at large. Spatially, this process means that casinos acquire a prominent place in the urban landscape, become a tool for urban revitalization and economic

development, and confine gambling to the premises of the casino, in which games can be managed by major enterprises relatively independent from local governments.[27]

Right after the government's decision in 1983, the Nijmegen Council, which had failed to acquire a casino in 1973 in a nationwide competition, eagerly put forward the city's candidacy for one. Several possible locations for the property were suggested, including the waterfront. Initially, urban space was not even a strong argument in the competition for a casino. Tourism development, proximity to the German market, and employment opportunities were considered to be more significant. The waterfront became explicitly connected to the casino in the subsequent competition among Dutch cities, in particular in the race between Nijmegen and Arnhem (20 kilometers, or 12.5 miles, north of Nijmegen on the Rhine River). With its integral plan, Nijmegen hoped to create a competitive edge. That Nijmegen succeeded in this strategy could also be attributed to the fact that the Casinos Council, which was to determine the locations of the casinos, at the same time reconsidered its policy. Instead of the traditional idea of stand-alone elitist establishments intended for tourists, a new idea was proposed: one of urban casinos also intended for local and regional consumers.

Prior to the expansion of the legal Dutch casino market (which in the 1970s started with three tourist casinos), casinos were regarded as a vice industry that could be allowed only for tourists and to counter illegal exploitation and criminal involvement in gambling. However, the expansion of the market in the 1980s and 1990s redirected the main arguments to include local customers and possibilities for employment and regional economic development. Interestingly, until 1991, the Nijmegen region was known for its illegal casinos—the so-called Golden Ten—that evaded the law by claiming that they exploited a game of skill instead of a game of chance.[28] The construction of the waterfront casino, together with the prosecution of the Golden Ten, implied a purification of the urban casino landscape.

In this way the initial plan for a small-scale tourist facility at the quay was transformed into a major publicly funded project about a commercial waterfront destination including a casino. At the same time a partial interest in tourism was transformed into a general economic interest of the entire city. This ran over the fragmented social interests of the neighborhood's residents. In this process the power balance shifted between the involved parties. On one side there were the residents and the city council and on the other side a public–private partnership including the mayor, a few confidant aldermen, and prominent civil servants. The latter group allied with the ca-

sino managers and project developers, who all took a straightforward managerial attitude toward the project.

Constitution

Urban casinos constitute urban space and simultaneously threaten it. Strongly conflicting views and contrasting visions of urban space often mark redevelopment projects.[29] As casinos become more commonly understood and organized as part of spaces that are specifically designed for entertainment purposes, they increasingly assume the features of hyper-space-oriented casinos. Referring to Jean Baudrillard's concept of the "hyper-real," hyper-spaces make it difficult to distinguish between fantasy and reality.[30] The consumption spaces of, and for, casinos increasingly (seek to) redefine and predefine the gambling experience. In semiological terms the (gambling) text and (urban) context get mixed up, or the urban medium becomes the gambling message.

Neither local politicians nor residents were the main obstacle to the construction of the waterfront casino. Instead, it was a small group of squatters who lived in the premises next to the construction site. The small squatter settlement constituted an obstacle because the casino corporation, Holland Casino, had arranged strict preconditions for the establishment of a casino in Nijmegen. These preconditions included agreements about the immediate environment of the casino, the policing of the area, and the reconstruction of the waterfront in line with the destination's general plan, in addition to promises regarding the ban of illegal casinos in Nijmegen, parking facilities, and the casino's extended hours. An explicit agreement was thus made about the deteriorated historic building of the squatters, which was to be used, according to the contract, for housing or tourism of "decent" quality and the project developer "should be of good reputation."

The squatters supported neighborhood resistance and ideologically objected to the casino, claiming it represented "decadent entertainment" and the brutal force of capital. The squatters' stay in the premises jeopardized the entire project.[31] In the end (in 1989), after having significantly delayed the construction work, the casino constructor bought the squatters' premises (significantly above the market price). The local government offered alternative housing to some of the leading squatters, who left the building voluntarily. The demands of Holland Casino in fact highlighted the casino company's dominant position and its great signifying influence on the waterfront project.

The objections of the Casino Group and the Main Street Committee, both representing the residents' interests, concerned the "large-scale commercial" redevelopment of the waterfront rather than the casino per se. The city council also preferred small facilities. Therefore, nightclubs, discos, and arcades were ruled out. The percentage of bars and restaurants was limited to one-half of the total length of the facades. The remainder was reserved for shops, boutiques, or galleries, which were considered to be less problematic. In particular, the anticipated traffic and the late hours of the businesses introduced strong tensions between the casino, the bars, and the restaurants, on the one hand, and the nearby residents, on the other.

TABLE 4.1 A summary of the cultural categories discussed in the text

	Organization	
Prestige	Commercial	Social
High	*Stylish culture* Casino Penthouse apartments Bars and restaurants Boulevard Art gallery Terraces Urban festivals	*Preserved culture* Hill park Museums Traditional Cityscape Historical heritage Roman remains Medieval remains Ruins of fortress
Low	*Common culture* Ice cream and fish stalls Pancakes Fairs Bike race Pop concert Prostitution	*Everyday culture* Community center Social housing Playgrounds Squatters Strolling Fishing

The controversies ran along two cultural boundaries, which together make up the four cultural categories summarized in table 4.1. The first boundary refers to cultural prestige, mostly addressed with concepts like "value," "standard," "quality," and "allure." This dimension is prominently expressed in the concern for historical heritage and in the status of the casino. The second cultural boundary refers to the mode of organization of the facilities, which can be social or commercial. In this respect the commercial redevelopment of the waterfront contrasts with the socially defined neighborhood and with the requirements of a traditional cityscape.

The prestigious entertainment facilities at the waterfront, among which the casino can be regarded as "ideal typical," focus on the appropriation of a varied set of cultural components, which are brought together and subsumed under a shared framework in order to attract customers and revenue. This leads to a consciously constructed "stylish culture," which brings together two contradictory elements: the commercialization of popular culture and the protection of elitist culture. On the one hand, the businesses at the

waterfront are distinguished from "preserved culture" (components such as museums). These facilities are heavily subsidized and therefore less commercial. On the other hand, the businesses at the waterfront stand apart from "common (low-prestige) culture," which emphasizes instant gratification and substance over style (like mobile food stalls). These two types of facilities, in turn, distance themselves from "everyday culture" associated with neighborhood life (for example, bingo at the community center and playgrounds). The central concern with style at the waterfront makes it part of postmodern consumer culture. With the blurring of boundaries between high culture and popular culture, the "focus turns away from lifestyle as class- or neighborhood-based to lifestyle as the active stylization of life in which coherence and unity give way to the playful exploration of transitory experiences and surface aesthetic effects."[32] In the case of gambling, stylization underscores the role of spectators and petty gambling at Holland Casino. Not all casino customers will be regarded as "true gamblers," since looking and acting like a gambler is not entirely the same as being one. Gambling in this sense has become subject to a search for thrills, for new experiences, and for lifestyle construction.

The transformation of meaning is particularly significant in the case of gambling, where the exchange value of money is converted into the use value of chips in order to generate exciting experiences endowed with illusions of risk taking, winning, and luxury. One of the most striking spatial features of this paradigmatic "new means of consumption" is the theming of casinos.[33] Mark Gottdiener argues convincingly that theming is not restricted to amusement parks or casino environments but has a far wider cultural significance.[34] The process shows how material culture coproduces consumer experiences in newly created "fantasy cities," where entertainment facilities have returned and added synergy to the postindustrial city center. As indicated in table 4.1, in Nijmegen such Las Vegas–style synergy is sought in the union of gambling, dining, heritage, and sightseeing.

The divisions outlined in table 4.1 should be regarded as prisms that can be used for analyzing cultural space. The commercial and prestigious facilities concentrate in the eastern part of the waterfront but are not completely restricted to this area. However, representatives of "low status" and "common culture" were clearly excluded from the waterfront (for instance, window prostitution found in the western part of the downtown). The prism suggests that two strategies can reinforce the waterfront culture. One strategy is an upgrading of "common culture"; the other is a commercialization

of "preserved high culture." In both cases the boundaries between cultural categories are blurred.

A striking feature in the constitution of the waterfront is the alternation and hybridization of indigenous historical and international cosmopolitan elements (as in figure 4.1). Indigenousness is prominently present in the restored historical buildings and in the simulation of tradition in the looks of the new buildings and the cityscape. Cosmopolitanism is more prominent in the themes of the interior design, the atmosphere, and the drinks, food, and games that can be enjoyed. The names of the bars and restaurants exemplify this international referencing; they are named Amadeus, Popov, Riva, Corfu, Miller Time, La Promenade, and Beaubourg.[35] The application of exotic style elements denounces that the waterfront is oriented to a market with an extended cultural orientation that reaches well beyond Nijmegen. The resulting consumer culture should be regarded as a new "hybrid" cultural construction, and not as a mere mix of differences. One might compare this to the new hybrid identity, as discussed by Homi Bhabha, of a colonial migrant living in a metropolis.[36]

The indigenous and exotic elements are far from their original contexts, which doubtlessly is the precondition for their seamless fusion. This distance and the new combination of various styles give the waterfront its cosmopolitan character. This mechanism makes the place increasingly "phantasmagoric," meaning that it is thoroughly "penetrated by, and shaped in, terms of social influences quite distant from them."[37] The visible form of the waterfront conceals the distanciated relations that determine its nature. The alchemy of the waterfront results, first and foremost, in an aesthetic theme. In *Landscapes of Power,* Sharon Zukin characterizes comparable projects in the United States: "Without a specific social and material context, the organizing principle in these landscapes is simply a visual theme. Just as Busch Gardens and Disney World decontextualize the future, Inner Harbor, Faneuil Hall, and South Street Seaport decontextualize the past, turning a landscape of devastation in the inner city into a landscape of consumption."[38] Because of the emphasis on aesthetic unity, cultural prestige, and their use in city-marketing strategies, the Nijmegen waterfront can be regarded as a representation zone of the city. In brochures of the city, the waterfront is accordingly used as an advertising image.

But the constitution of the waterfront is ambivalent; it is not fixed in time nor space, nor is it strictly demarcated. Next to the dominant prestigious components, the waterfront is also used for more "common" and "everyday"

activities. In some respects the contrasting activities reinforce each other, while in others they compete. And in both ends, west and east of the new waterfront, there are liminal transition zones, where it is not entirely clear whether these zones should be regarded as part of the destination or not. An excellent example of a liminal zone is the Valkhof Park (figure 4.2) on top of the main hill, with the new Museum of Archaeology right behind it (the local government decided to build the museum in 1989 independently from the decision making regarding the waterfront). This park constitutes an almost natural boundary to the commercial waterfront and was initially a firm part of "preserved culture." But already in the conception phase of the waterfront project there was talk of a new commercial plan for the Valkhof Park.

The plan springs from an ambition to reconstruct the twelfth-century Valkhof Burg, demolished in 1798. Only a small ruin and a chapel have been preserved. A similarly named association (founded in 1978) represents the advocates of reconstruction and has developed various plans, ranging from marking the "contours" of the burg on the ground to its complete reconstruction according to plans developed in 1935. The initial response was negative, but in 1995, a new commercial plan including a hotel and convention center received support. The subsequent controversy followed the dividing lines of table 4.1. Opponents spoke of "kitsch," fearing that the burg would degenerate into a "fairground attraction" and that history would not be (pre)served. A deadlock finally changed in favor of the reconstruction when in 2005, in the context of Nijmegen's two thousandth anniversary celebrations, a forty-eight-meter scaffold-and-cloth reconstruction of the burg tower was build on its original location (see figure 4.3 for the tower and the landscape). The magnificent view from the top and the change of the city's skyline strongly spoke to the public imagination and triggered a fresh debate about the plan. In the 2006 referendum 60 percent of the voters favored the reconstruction.

In the case of the liminal zone of the Valkhof Park, both the spatial boundary of the eastern waterfront and the temporal boundary of the historical past are important. The reconstruction plans also made clear that over time, additional projects can be linked to the entertainment destination at the waterfront.

Control

Inconvenience and *nuisance* were keywords in the third phase of development, starting in around 1990. I will discuss this dimension in terms of busyness, diversity, and discipline.

The residents were already sensitive to nuisance related to "illegal parking" and "visitors" of the nearby shopping center. Now they feared a major increase of inconvenience because the Main Street serves as the principal connection between the city center and the waterfront. They feared a significant increase of pedestrian through traffic in the residential area. A considerable problem was the parking need of the casino (almost half of the casino building is parking space), stressing the regional reach of the casino. This traffic affected the residents' parking needs and mobility, especially during rush hours and on festival days. The reconstruction of the traffic lane at the quay (which became a one-way street) was in 1994 officially declared to be the "finishing touch" of the waterfront redevelopment project.

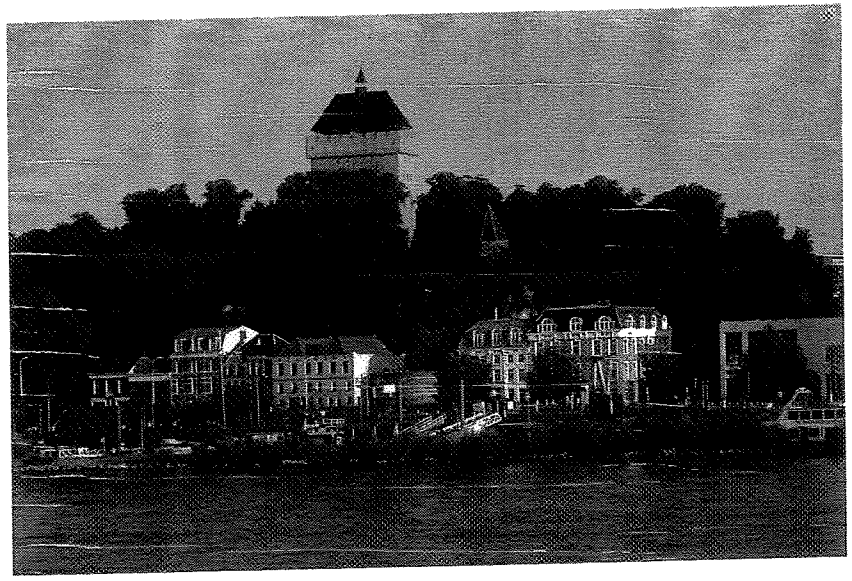

Figure 4.3. The reproduced burg tower in the landscape of Nijmegen. (Photograph courtesy of Cor Elias.)

In the morphology of nuisance the temporal order of the waterfront is as significant as the spatial order. Because of the businesses, the traffic to, and from, the waterfront indeed increased substantially. Residents complained about vandalism and noise, especially during the late hours. Such nuisance was manifested in the daily, weekly, as well as yearly cycles related to popular urban festivals in Nijmegen.

Nuisance also relates to the nature of the entertainment enterprises. The residents of the condominiums at the quay complained about noise, dirt, and congestion caused by the businesses. These residents suggested an immediate link between the "quality" and "standing" of the businesses, on the

one hand, and nuisance, on the other. The operators were pressured to live up to their enterprises' high-quality standards and stylish appearances by ensuring the moderate behavior of the visitors. This moderate behavior relates to what could be termed *stylish variation.* With this, form takes precedence over function, and expressive concerns become paramount. After all, the entertainment facilities are not primarily intended to alleviate hunger and thirst, to meet people, or to win money. Instead, people frequent the properties for seeing (architecture and people) and being seen, hanging out, having fun, and manifesting identity. The restaurants, for instance, advertise with "good taste" (not with fast food). Nor is the casino advertised as an opportunity for getting rich fast, but as an occasion for "flirting with luck" and for "having a good time in style." The casino company also enhanced the subsidiary entertainment activities because it wanted to be a "typical nightlife casino." Also, the waterfront itself is not only used for passing through, but, most significantly, for flanerie and for enjoying the terraces. Space itself is commoditized and being consumed.

The establishments at the waterfront present themselves through variation. Whereas the most extreme differences level out, the variations in style increase. Pleasure at the waterfront is defined more in terms of a mixture of modules that differ in style and less in terms of differences that coexist side by side. This mixture leads to something new. The waterfront is better described as a new hybrid "culture of variations" rather than as an array of "authentic" cultural forms. Also, the differences at the waterfront are nuanced rather than extreme and take shape individually rather than collectively. In short, an atomized mass of consumers defines the user practices at the waterfront.

The design of the establishments anticipates the need for mutual comparison rather than for close encounters. On the many Parisian terraces and behind the glass fronts customers are seated as if in a shop window. And space is always partitioned. Seating arrangements split up the interiors of the cafés and restaurants. The simultaneous individualization of space and the orientation of customers to each other and to their surroundings seem paradoxical. But both features, individualization and comparison, presuppose each other: Precisely in order to enable the acts of choosing and comparing, the visitors cherish the distance to each other and to the services and commodities offered. Within this culture of variations it also becomes understandable that separate "units" of customers (individuals, couples, and friends) rarely interact.

All these features enhance moderate behavior. However, this moderation is not simply imposed by spatial arrangements. In Henri Lefebvre's spatial terminology, there is always considerable leeway between the "conceived space" of designers and operators and the "lived space" of actual users.[39] New and unexpected meanings and uses of space can always emerge,[40] because of different intentions, wrong choices, accidents, or loss of control.

Of course, policing and surveillance are there to take care of control. But control has a cultural aspect, which seems inherent to an individualized culture of variations. This culture presupposes a certain individual level of restraint, of control of emotions and behavior. Therefore, tolerance and mutual respect are significant behavioral features at the waterfront. However, this tolerance, characteristic of public urban life, may have different meanings.[41] "Negative tolerance" may apply to the opponents of the commercial waterfront.[42] The city council, for instance, requested this tolerance from the neighborhood's residents, because, as it was repeatedly stated, "everyone living in the inner city should not expect a quiet living environment." "Neutral tolerance," in turn, applies to those "deviants" who act politely and avoid hindering others, because they realize that this may make them more acceptable.[43] This tolerance applies to the majority of the operators at the waterfront and to those residents whose attitude toward the redevelopment is indifference. But I call attention to a third form of tolerance, "positive tolerance," in which variations in style and situation are actively praised.

The casino sets a standard of discipline for the waterfront. The local government considered the chances of casino-induced (street) robbery, prostitution, addiction, and aggression to be relatively low. One casino manager directly linked the quality of the establishment and behavioral control when stating in an interview, "In essence the casino is a form of entertainment, which we want to give a certain standing. The design also conveys standing and reflects the behavior of our guests, we hope."[44]

In comparison to other areas in the Nijmegen city center, the nuisance at the waterfront is limited. The waterfront is even less associated with criminal behavior like robbery and violence. These forms of deviance are exceptional. That the customers of the waterfront generally regard this area as safe and tolerant heartrendingly turned out to be the case in a bloody drug-related shooting incident at the waterfront in 1989. However, bystanders initially believed the lethal settlement to be a form of street theater and rewarded the supposed actors with applause—a remarkable expression of "positive tolerance."

Conclusion

In this chapter I have analyzed the spatiotemporal development of urban casinos in the Dutch context, in particular the close relationship between the Nijmegen casino and the waterfront redevelopment project. The significance of the city for the casino resides in the shaping of an aesthetically and commercially attractive environment for the casino, in reshaping the waterfront as a "fantasy city." However, one could also reason the other way around: The (re)definition of casinos as entertainment facilities made them attractive components for urban entertainment destinations. These developments, the expansion of the Dutch casino-entertainment industry and the conversion of inner-city areas into entertainment destinations, coincided and reinforced each other. Both developments form part of the construction of a wider consumer society, which, as Mark Gottdiener stresses, not only produces desire by attaching appealing images to consumer products, as in advertising, but also needs, and thematically shapes, material spaces for the actual use and consumption of entertainment products.[45] The "compression of time and space," which takes place at the waterfront and most significantly in the casino, encourages the customers to spend more money.[46] But all the discourses and normalization strategies regarding urban casino space do not imply that people more or less automatically comply with the idealized values and beliefs of companies like Holland Casino. Waterfront agencies—or, for that matter, casino companies—should not underestimate "the power of residents to change the development plans in the middle of implementation."[47] It does mean that commercial enterprises exert considerable power of definition and affect the signification of the entertainment destination.

Notes

1. S. F. Kingma, "Dutch Casino Space; or, The Spatial Organization of Entertainment."

2. Later, after 2005, two more casinos were built in the Netherlands.

3. M. Castells, *The City and the Grassroots.*

4. M. Middelton, *Cities in Transition: The Regeneration of Britain's Inner Cities.*

5. D. Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change.*

6. I am broadly referring to principles of actor-network theory (or ANT), as developed by Bruno Latour and others. See, for example, Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory.* For an application in the field of human geography, see N. J. Thrift, "Capitalism's Cultural Turn."

7. S. Zukin, *Loft Living.*

8. For constructivist perspectives on space and boundaries, see, for example, A. Paasi, *Territories, Boundaries, and Consciousness: The Changing Geographies of the Finnish-Russian Border;* and P. Cloke and R. Johnston, eds., *Spaces of Geographical Thought: Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries.*

9. L. Heracleous, "Boundaries in the Study of Organization."

10. See P. Raento and S. Flusty, "Three Trips to Italy: Deconstructing the New Las Vegas"; and B. Friedman, *Designing Casinos to Dominate the Competition.*

11. "A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which *something begins its presencing.*" M. Heidegger, "Building, Dwelling, Thinking," in *Poetry, Language, Thought,* 154.

12. K. Dale, "Building a Social Materiality: Spatial and Embodied Politics in Organizational Control."

13. R. Abma et al., *Stad aan de Waal: Nijmegen van Romeinse tot modern stad.*

14. M. Weber, *The City.*

15. J. de Vries, *Nieuw Nijmegen, 1870–1970: Moderne geschiendenis van de stad Nijmegen.*

16. R. Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century.*

17. V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure,* 95.

18. Castells, *The City and the Grassroots.*

19. L. Huberts, L. Oltheten, and P. Veld, *Rehabilitatie van de Benedenstad, waardoor beinvloed?*

20. This was the fate of many community movements. See R. Fisher and J. Kling, eds., *Mobilizing the Community: Local Politics in the Era of the Global City.*

21. Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity,* 92.

22. Middelton, *Cities in Transition;* P. Cooke, "Modernity, Postmodernity, and the City"; B. S. Hoyle, D. A. Pinder, and M. S. Husain, eds., *Revitalising the Waterfront: International Dimensions of Dockland Redevelopment.*

23. J. Dombrink and W. N. Thompson, *The Last Resort: Success and Failure in Campaigns for Casinos.*

24. K. Bassett, R. Griffiths, and I. Smith, "Testing Governance: Partnerships, Planning, and Conflict in Waterfront Regeneration."

25. R. R. Shanor, *The City That Never Was.*

26. S. F. Kingma, *Het gokcomplex* and "Gambling and the Risk Society: The Liberalisation and Legitimation Crisis of Gambling in the Netherlands."

27. Kingma, *Het gokcomplex.*

28. S. F. Kingma, "The Remarkable Case of Golden Ten: An Interplay of Justice and Science."

29. Bassett, Griffiths, and Smith, "Testing Governance."

30. J. Baudrillard, *Simulations.*

31. In the Netherlands squatters hold a relatively strong cultural and institutional position. Dwelling, not only property, is legally protected. Under the Dutch law, the owner of a building that has not been in use for more than twelve months has to take squatters to court to evict them. The owner then has to demonstrate that the building is urgently needed for business or personal purposes.

32. M. Featherstone, *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism,* 95.

33. G. Ritzer and T. Stillman, "The Modern Las Vegas Casino-Hotel: The Paradigmatic New Means of Consumption."

34. M. Gottdiener, *The Theming of America: Dreams, Media Fantasies, and Themed Environments.*

35. See P. Raento and W. A. Douglass, "The Naming of Gaming."

36. H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture.*

37. A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity,* 19.

38. S. Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World,* 20.

39. H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space.*

40. E. Soja, *Third Space.*

41. L. Lofland, *The Public Realm: Exploring the City's Quintessential Social Territory.*

42. H. Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society.*

43. H. S. Becker and I. L. Horowitz, "The Culture of Civility."

44. Kingma, *Het gokcomplex,* 321.

45. Gottdiener, *Theming of America,* 67–68.

46. The "compression of time and space" is a concept used in Harvey, *Condition of Postmodernity,* 284.

47. D. L. A. Gordon, "Managing the Changing Political Environment in Urban Waterfront Redevelopment."

II Culture, Space, and Time